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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Republican Party in the South.

The joint caucus of the Republican members of Congress the other night had especial reference to the organization of a Republican party in the Southern States. This looks as if a speedy and practical political reorganization were expected in that quarter; and though it may be supposed to have particular reference to the State elections which will soon be under way, it may also be based on the probability of such action in the South as will enable some or all of the States to participate in the Presidential campaign of next year.

The movement is a proper one, and if conducted wisely, will result in advantage, not only to the Republican party, but—what is more important—to the people of the South themselves. The despotism of party in the Southern States before the war was crushing. The supremacy which the Democracy had acquired in almost every slave State was exercised without regard to anything but itself. It was based on the most intolerant of institutions, and from that took its character. Under it the present generation of Southern voters have acquired their political nature and proclivities; and there is danger that, even with all the great changes which have taken place in the South, the traditions and feeling of the past will again, under new forms, gain ascendancy. It will require great labor to prevent a renewed growth of sectionalism of the State-Rights heresy, and of the political aristocracy whose roots penetrate so deeply into the Southern soil. We believe it can be accomplished even yet, if properly set about; but there are a few major and minor things which will have to be attended to before success is possible:—

1. The Republican party itself will by its own action have to be divested of all appearance of sectionalism, both in action and spirit—in other words, it will have to be thoroughly nationalized in all respects. The fact that ever since the origin of the Republican party it has been confined to the Northern States, has unquestionably had great influence on the policies it has from time to time pursued. Having no support in the South, either before the war or since its close, it did not need to consult Southern feeling, Southern interests, or Southern ideas. All of these, and even Southern prejudices, must have their just weight with a party which proposes to control the political action of a country whose Government is constituted like ours.

2. Those who propose to undertake the formation of the Republican party in the Southern States must, above all things, avoid anything like setting one class of the people against the other. There is no greater danger at the present time to the South than this; and it were better for both the North and the South that the Republican party never had an existence in the latter, than that its action should be of this character. We should like to have Republican leaders and voters among the "poor whites," but we should also like to have them among the landed proprietors, and among those who were lately Rebel officers and leaders. The party in the North drew to itself hundreds of prominent Democratic chiefs, and this history must be repeated in the South if the party there would have a healthy and beneficent existence. In like manner, we would by no means have the Republican organizers overlook the importance of the negro vote; but it should not be treated as separate from the other vote, and, above all, the blacks should be discouraged from politically antagonizing themselves with the dominant race.

We regard these two points as being vitally important in this business of organizing the Republican party in the Southern States. As a minor matter, we cannot suppose that the Republican leaders in Congress and elsewhere, who have originated and propose carrying on the movement, will fail to see the necessity of ceasing to indulge in any such wholesale denunciations of the Southern people as we are frequently compelled to listen to. The war upon the South is over; and if we desire united political action with its people in the future, there must be a cessation of sectional acrimony. It may gratify personal feeling, minister to sectional pride, and so promise local political victories. But even in this respect it involves danger of a reaction, and is certain to be a source of party weakness and disaster in the long run.

The Radicals Stumping the South.

It is given out that Mr. Wilson and others of the radical leaders in Congress intend, after the session is over, to stump the Southern States in support of their particular views. The idea is an admirable one, and the more of these gentlemen that go the better. The effect cannot be salutary. When the extremists on both sides come together, they will be apt to modify each other's sentiments. Ben. Butler has already been in the South, and it was in a capacity that rendered him incompetent to form a correct judgment. He went there as a great military leader, and came back with a heap of glory in the shape of spoons.

General Schenck was also down there; but his experience was confined to running into a bay and getting out up at Vienna. Banks performed some remarkable military exploits at Red River. Well, we would recommend him to go and take a look at Red River again. We do not know, in fact, anything that would create greater interest than that of these distinguished statesmen and generals to confront the Southern politicians on their own stump and bid for the negro vote.

A discussion sustained by Henry Wilson, Ben Butler, and General Schenck on the one side and by Wade Hampton, General Longstreet, and ex-Governor Wise on the other, would be one of the most exciting and entertaining things imaginable. The excitement, however, would be all on the side of the Northern men; for the fire-eaters have learned to take things coolly, and cannot now be easily put out of temper. We have no doubt that if the stumping business were once fairly set going, even General Lee would be induced to lay aside his sword and take his share in it. The effect certainly would be to educate the negro to a higher point of intelligence on the subject of his rights than all the school "masters" from New England can succeed in teaching him in a quarter of a century. The negroes have a great deal of natural shrewdness and cunning. They will soon find out on which side their interest lies, and will vote accordingly. The result will be that the South will get back into Congress by next winter ten or twelve votes stronger than it ever has been. Then will be decided the contest as to who is to govern this great country for the next fifty years.

Impeachment of Chief Justice Chase.

Ben Butler and the other radicals in Congress who are so hot on impeachment, should turn their attention to Chief Justice Chase, if they must have a case. He has declined to carry out the laws, while President Johnson seems disposed to do his duty in this respect. First, he has refused all along to hold a Court to try Jeff Davis, although the Rebel chief has been a prisoner a long time under the gravest charges. But a stronger case for impeachment can be found in his refusal to appoint registers under the Bankrupt law, though the act of Congress requires he should do so.

This is a palpable resistance of the authority of Congress, and a flagrant obstruction of the law on the part of a public functionary only next in station to the President. Mr. Johnson's case seems to be a doubtful one, as he has not refused to carry out the laws of Congress, but here there can be no doubt. Mr. Chase's offense is clearly an impeachable one. What do Butler and his radical confederates say to this? In their zeal to see the laws executed, will they not impeach the Chief Justice for refusing to do his duty?

General Sherman on a New Expedition.

It is rumored that General Sherman intends going Captain Duncan's excursion to the Holy Land, which is to sail in June next. This is very probable. In the Middle Ages, when distinguished men committed a *faux pas*, they usually undertook a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Saviour, by way of expiation. When General Sherman set out on his Mexican mission he burned and laid waste a country which he had no right to touch. He has not yet atoned for his objective point; but he refused his aid, and unceremoniously put him on shore at Havana. The General's pilgrimage to the Holy Land is doubtless undertaken in a spirit of repentance for this and others of his past errors. We question, however, if he will succeed in reaching it unless he enlists the services of another of our correspondents to show him the way.

The Bid for the Colored Vote.

The Reconstruction law is revolutionizing the South. In creating a million of black voters, it has made the colored man respected by the whites. They hold the balance of power, and the keen Southern politician, never mistaken except when policy is opposed to principle, already bids for the colored vote. The negroes are organizing a Union Republican party; the Wade Hampton want a negro Southern party; and as the tendency of the negro is to vote with the party to which he owes freedom, citizenship, and the ballot, their old masters must work hard to counteract this natural gravitation. They are going to work hard; they have not yet recovered from the suddenness of the blow, and bid for the colored vote with fair words only, to get it they must make offers more substantial. "Will you place in office the strangers who have flocked here to plunder what little is left to us?" asked General Hampton; "or will you trust the men among whom you have lived?" He added, and wisely, "I do not tell you to trust professions of friendship alone, whether they come from the Southern man or the Northern. But what I ask is, that, as we profess to be your friends, you will give us the opportunity of showing by our actions whether we are sincere or not." Yet in the changed tone of the Southern press there is much encouragement for the colored race. They are no longer a people created by the Almighty expressly to be slaves; they are men and women, and not so far below white men and women either. "Bear with their harmless prejudices," says the Charlottesville (Va.) Chronicle; "have not we ten thousand follies and vanities? Does not the same poor human heart beat under the most snowy and the most jet black bosoms?" It is rejoiced at the moderation the freedmen have displayed: "Under the same circumstances the white people would not have behaved so well by twenty per cent." And it adds, with an astonishing burst of humility, "We just say this—that if we had been a born nigger, reared out in a mud cabin, with no knowledge of God, no knowledge of anything, surrounded by public sentiment that tolerated dirt, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, stealing, lying—we should have been hung ago."

Then comes the point of this praise, in advice and warning to the negroes:—"Remember that, although you will vote, you are still the laboring class of the country. Do not abuse the freedom which God has given you by forgetting your position in society. Do not undertake to be like gentlemen. Do not put on airs. Attend to your business, do your daily work, do it well, deal honestly and uprightly, and you will command respect. Live peaceably with the whites. Make them your friends. They can do you infinite harm if you make them enemies. They can persecute you to death in a thousand ways which no laws in reach of the white man can like these gentle threats, but we know what they mean—votes. This policy has had some success already. General Hampton at Columbia advised the freedmen to give their friends at the South a fair trial, and if they were found wanting, it would then be time enough to go abroad for sympathy. In answer to this we find a colored clergyman foolish enough to oppose universal suffrage. But, though the freedmen are ignorant, there are few of them so stupid as not to know that the right to the ballot is their independence. It is for them a weapon more powerful than the pen or the sword.

This seems to end the prophecies of the Southern papers that to give the negroes the right to vote would be to create a war of races. Instead of accepting the Reconstruction law as a call to arms, the Southern leaders are ready to use it as a means of obtaining power. "The weapon with which our mortal and eternal enemies seek to destroy us," says the Richmond Examiner, "will be wielded for our own defense." But it is not certain that the negro vote can be made unanimously Southern, in the usual sense of the term. The colored citizens of Charleston and Savannah lately held meetings for the purpose of organizing a Union Republican party. Resolutions were adopted giving cordial and entire sanction to the principles of Congress; opposing repudiation of the national debt; demanding of the Legislatures common schools, open to all without regard to color; and a revision of the laws, and pledging the colored man to vote for no candidate who will not openly advocate these measures and principles. In effect, they declared that they required from the Southern leaders better securities than promises; they demanded the repeal of all laws under which they have been held in subjection, and nothing less than the full legal acknowledgment of their political and civil equality. They are organizing a Republican party, and intend to vote for Republican candidates. Mr. F. L. Cardozo, at the recent meeting in Charleston, said:—"We are

not opposed to united action. We will gladly welcome union with our Southern friends; but let them join the party which is true, and has been tried, and then there will be united action. Let them adopt our platform, and join the Republican party." In Jacksonville, Florida, they resolved that they would support no candidate who had voluntarily been in the Rebel army.

The Southern colored vote will no doubt be divided, and, hereafter, it may be legitimately sought by rival parties. At present we have no electioneering to do. If the men who bitterly opposed universal suffrage are now desirous to use it, we are content that they should succeed, provided that they accept the principles on which it is based. The duty of the country is now to make sure that the Reconstruction law is faithfully executed, that the negroes shall vote, and we shall rejoice in that triumph of our principles even if every colored man in the South should vote the Democratic ticket. We do not degrade a principle by advocating it as a policy.

Is Rebellion Ever Justifiable in a Republic?

The Times contends that it is not. Its argument, if we correctly apprehend it, is, in substance, that inasmuch as the aggrieved are represented, they have a remedy in the elections if they are a majority, while, if they are a minority, they are bound to submit. We do not undertake to define the justifiable causes of rebellion, since they involve a question of degree, and therefore do not admit of very exact statement. But whatever may be the amount of oppression which justifies armed resistance, we cannot see how it should make any difference, in the moral aspect of the question, whether the oppressors be few or many. The majority in a republic will never rebel, since they have an easier and less hazardous mode of attaining their wishes. When minorities rebel, they do so with the odds against them; and it is only a deep sense of wrong, or a firm confidence in the justice of their cause, that can induce them to take the risks. Minorities are not aggregates of individuals, as are individual men; and, in a republic, the will of the majority is not meant for the protection of minorities, who, in a republican government, can always protect themselves through the ballot-box, but for the protection of minorities against the tyranny of the majority. So long as the majority, or the government which is their agent, respects the limits thus set to its authority, rebellions can never be justifiable if the Constitution is just and wise. But if a hot-headed and overbearing majority refuse to be bound by the constitution, and erect their own will into the supreme law, will the Times tell us what would, in that case, be the effectual means of resisting oppression and redressing injustice? The government of an unrestrained majority is the worst of all possible tyrannies. When all constitutional restraints are cast off and scolded at, what are the minority to do? For our part, we do not hesitate to affirm that no people are fit for republican government who have not in their composition a spice of the rebel. The knowledge that the majority will be injured, is a salutary restraint on the governing power. It was Jefferson's opinion that there ought to be at least one rebellion in a generation, to purify the political atmosphere, and remind rulers of the necessity of moderation.

The Times' notion that rebellion is never justifiable under a representative Government, is one of those half-thoughts caught up by looking at the subject in one of its aspects, instead of a comprehensive survey. The Federal Constitution itself indirectly recognizes the right of rebellion in several places. It declares that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The right of the people to bear arms implies their right to use arms, otherwise the guarantee would be as idle as a right to keep guns without triggers. It is a good thing for the people to have arms in their hands to use, in the last resort, against oppression; and it is a good thing for Governments to know that the people possess arms of which this use can be made. Whether any particular occasion justifies resistance, is quite a different question from whether resistance is ever permissible. The Times, by inculcating the slavish doctrine that the tyranny of the majority is never to be resisted, precludes all consideration of particular grievances as a ground of rebellion. If rebellion is never permissible in a republic, it cannot be permissible against this or that wrong, however flagrant and intolerable.

This slavish doctrine is now in American politics, but it is a natural enough corollary from the high-handed action of the Government during the last six years. All former exponents of our institutions have recognized the right of rebellion. The Federalist, for example, in discussing the means of the State to resist Federal encroachments, gives a prominent place to physical force, and winds up in this spirited strain of truly republican eloquence:—"Let us not insult the free and gallant citizens of America with the supposition that they would be less able to defend the right of which they would be in actual possession, than the debased subjects of arbitrary power would be to rescue theirs from the hands of their oppressors; let us rather no longer insult them with the supposition that they can ever reduce themselves to the necessity of making the experiment by a blind submission to the long train of insidious measures which must precede and produce it."

Mr. Webster, in both of his great speeches against nullification—that in reply to Hayne and that in reply to Calhoun—explicitly and fully acknowledged the right of rebellion as unquestionable, as did also Mr. Clay in connection with the same subject. Mr. Seward, in discussing the militia system, said that among the three occasions for the exercise of the right of rebellion was:—"First, The attempt by the Government or its officers to exercise tyranny over the people." It marks a great decline in the spirit of liberty in this country, and betokens the demoralizing influence of the period through which we have been passing, that a popular newspaper has become imbued with sentiments so abject and servile.

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87th [10] No. 123 MARKET Street.

CUTLERY.
A fine assortment of POCKET and
TABLE CUTLERY, RAZORS, RA-
ZOR STRIPS, LADIES' SCISSORS,
PAPER AND TABLE KNIVES, ETC.,
L. V. HELMOLD'S
Cheap Store, No. 125 South TENTH Street,
Three doors above Walnut.
BARLOW'S INDICO BLUE,
PUT UP AT
WILTBERGER'S DRUG STORE,
No. 223 NORTH SECOND STREET,
PHILADELPHIA.
Will color more water than four times the same
amount of ordinary Indigo.
IT IS WARRANTED TO GIVE SATISFACTION.
It is retailed at the same price as the imitation and
inferior articles. [1 1/2 stumps